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the fighting Veneti had set up their infant republic ; George Washington had just ceased to be President of the United States, when that Republic was extinguished : between these two events there stretches more than thirteen hundred years of Venetian history.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

Serfs et Vilains au Moyen Age. Par HENRI DONIOL. (Paris : Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1900. Pp. vi, 299.)

The End of Villainage in England. By THOMAS WALKER PAGE, Ph.D. (New York : The Macmillan Co. Published for the American Economic Association. 1900. Pp. 99.)

ALONG with the many new works that have been produced recently as a result of the deeper interest that has grown up in the condition of the mass of the people in past times, appears this work by M. Doniol enunciating his views on medieval servitude and its disappearance. It is professedly but a restatement of conclusions reached and published more than forty years ago in his *Histoire des Classes Rurales en France*. Indeed it bears only too clearly the marks of the historical work of that period. Few specific references are given for his statements. Indeed he deprecates exclusive reliance upon authorities, and repeatedly enforces the claims of the "probability of things," "induction based upon probability," and "universal acceptance." His practice follows this theory. For example he says : "If we go back in thought to the tribe we can see quite evidently how the different modes of subjection established themselves ;" and then proceeds to draw a picture, quite fanciful so far as any records of the past show, of the origination of two forms of servitude. For better or for worse, methods of historical investigation and exposition have changed greatly during the half-century between M. Doniol's earlier and later work.

But even undeveloped methods in the hands of a master may produce results of the greatest importance, and M. Doniol is one of the greatest of French historians. Such a statement of his conclusions as this cannot therefore be without interest and value. His book is practically a study of the distinction between villains and serfs in medieval France, and of the enfranchisement of the latter class. He draws the clearest line of distinction between the two classes. Villains were free, serfs not free. The villain was a subject to be taxed, the serf an article of possession. Villainage was the result of the possession of political rights by feudal lords, serfdom of their possession of lands to be worked. Villains were the subjects of the lordship, serfs its servants.

M. Doniol devotes the greater part of his work to a description of the position of these two classes, respectively. The serfs he treats as a comparatively homogeneous body. The class of villains is defined much more widely, including persons described by many different names in the documents, and possessing many different characteristics. Even the townsman, the merchant, and the handicraftsman of the early Middle Ages appear in this category.

The most instructive and original portion of M. Doniol's work, however, lies in the chapters which trace the emancipation of the serf. According to his statements emancipation became active about the middle of the thirteenth century and was practically completed within two hundred years. Liberty was offered by lords to their serfs before it was asked for by them. Enfranchisement was granted by the king to the serfs on his domains earlier than by any private lords on theirs.

This was because the king wanted taxable subjects more than he wanted laborers. The town corporations were the next to emancipate their serfs, the noblemen followed; the ecclesiastical corporations were the last. Notwithstanding the vast number of written charters of emancipation, the greater part of the work of enfranchisement was done by tacit agreement. Emancipation was a purely local change differing in time and character in different provinces; Normandy being the earliest to free itself from serfdom, Burgundy the last. Among the various reasons for difference of period of enfranchisement in different localities the character of the soil was the most important. For a century or more the serfs had no great desire to be freed, then freedom became attractive to them and their desires and those of the lord's corresponded, so that servitude rapidly became exceptional.

This is all extremely suggestive and interesting, and it may be true,—indeed much of it undoubtedly is, but M. Doniol has neither proved it nor given us the necessary means of proving or disproving it. One cannot get rid of a feeling of doubt and uncertainty. May not his fundamental distinction between serfs and villains be an arbitrary or imaginary one? That distinction did not exist in any positive institutional sense across the Channel. Indeed M. Doniol's own reservations in the course of discussion make the distinction very tenuous indeed in medieval France.

Mr. Page's work, in contrast with that just described, is a study of entirely new material, most of it never read by any previous student, much less utilized for historical purposes. His statements moreover are always fortified by direct references and his generalizations supported by a sufficient number of recorded facts. His pamphlet is threefold in subject, giving first a description of the institution of villainage as it existed in the thirteenth century; second, disproof of any considerable change in that institution before the middle of the fourteenth century; and lastly, an analysis of the course of change from that time forward until villainage had become a thing of the past by the close of the fifteenth century.

The first section is of inferior importance, having become by this time a matter of commonplace knowledge. In the other two divisions of his subject Mr. Page has fulfilled three tasks of a negative character which immediately attract attention. He shows, in opposition to the statements of Professor Rogers, that there had been but little commutation of labor services for money payments before 1350. He has examined records dated between 1325 and 1350 of eighty-one manors, and finds in more than half of them practically no commutation and in but six complete commutation of praedial services. Similarly Professor Rogers's suggestion that

has been so widely accepted, that a return to labor services was enforced by the lords upon the villain tenants after the Black Death is shown to be a mistake, for the records of one hundred and twenty-six manors within the thirty years following the pestilence show no single instance of such an increase or return, but quite the contrary process. Thirdly, the distinction between serfs and villains, between tenure in bondage and tenure in villainage, is shown to have had no existence in the usage of manorial courts or in other manorial records, the only place where such a distinction could have had any importance if it had existed. Villains, *nativi*, customary tenants, and persons described by several other terms were undifferentiated except in the discussions of some medieval and modern lawyers. The change of labor services into money payments progressed with great rapidity after the pestilence of 1348-1349 and this was tantamount to the cessation of villainage as a form of tenure. Regular money payments had not that character of uncertainty which kept the villain subject to the manorial bailiff, excluded him from the king's courts, and kept his tenure like his personal status, servile. Mr. Page carefully distinguishes villain status from villain tenure, and treats their disappearance as two separate though dependent movements. But the first is more satisfactorily done than the second. He notices the leasing out of the demesne as progressing coincidently with the process of commutation, but does not repeat the valuable statistics on this point given in his pamphlet, *Die Umwandlung der Frohndienste*. But does he not miss here perhaps the most important incentive to the non-enforcement of the disabilities of villains? It was not that commutation made villainage of less interest to the lords because they could not now get labor for the demesne if they wanted to, but that by the leasing of their demesnes they did not any longer want a labor supply even if they could have obtained it.

Mr. Page makes a mistake in stating that enfranchisement came later in France than in England, as M. Doniol's book shows. But this is one of very few slips. In the matter of which his book is a special study he shows the firmness of touch, the clearness of views and the originality of interpretation which can only come from much close contact with the sources from which all our knowledge must be drawn.

E. P. CHEYNEY.

Luther and the German Reformation. By THOMAS M. LINDSAY, D.D., Professor of Church History, Free Church Collegé, Glasgow. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1900. Pp. xii, 300.)

THE new series of small and handy volumes entitled "The World's Epoch-Makers" opens well. The editor seems to have placed the successive topics for discussion in competent hands. Certainly Dr. Lindsay is a successful and enthusiastic student of his particular theme. Of this he gave proof in a remarkable paper read before "the Alliance of the Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System" at its fifth gen-